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JOHN CASPAR LAVATER,

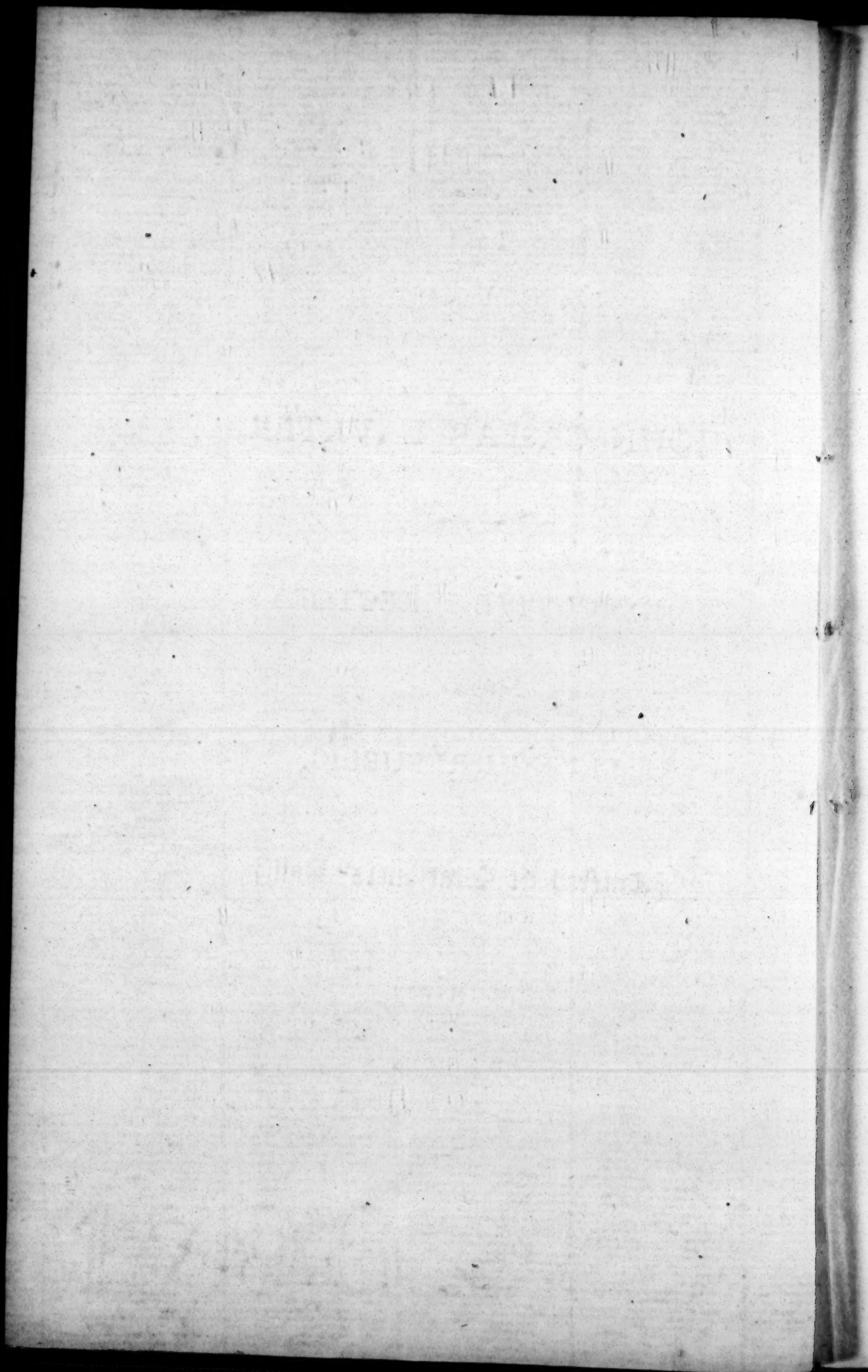
TO THE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[Entered at Stationers' Hall.]



REMONSTRANCE,  
ADDRESSED TO THE  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY  
OF THE  
FRENCH REPUBLIC,  
AGAINST THE  
INVASION OF SWITZERLAND.

BY JOHN CASPAR LAVATER,  
RECTOR AT ZURICH.

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SECOND EDITION.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY; AND  
T. LONGMAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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FRENCH REPUBLIC,

AGAINST THE

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BY JOHN CASPAR LAVATER,

LECTURER AT BASEL.

TRANSLATED BY

EDWARD M. LANE

ESQ.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND  
T. COCHRAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.





ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITOR.

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THE following very elegant and spirited address to the French nation, was lately transmitted by LAVATER to Citizen REWBELL, the President of the Directory, with an accompanying menace, that, *if he did not receive a satisfactory and immediate answer, it should be published in three different languages.* REWBELL condescended to reply; but the complexion of his answer may be judged of by the subsequent proceedings of his brother-in-law, Citizen RAPINAT, the wanton barbarity and injustice of which

which far surpass even the atrocity of those which form the proper objects of this address.

It should be premised here, that the venerable addresser has had no sort of concern in the publication of his forcible "Appeal," as he calls it, to the *great* nation, and to posterity: for it deserves to be recorded in the annals of Liberty, that no press throughout *regenerated* Switzerland would have found it expedient or safe to print *such* a defence of rational freedom.

H. NEWMAN.

No. 11, Ball-alley, Lombard-street,  
London.

(98)

J. C. LAVATER,

TO THE

*D I R E C T O R Y*

OF THE

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

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**L**IBERTY, Equality, Rights of Man, are the signs prefixed to all the decrees and proclamations of a people which, in more respects than one, may think itself entitled to assume the epithet of *la grand nation*. It cannot, therefore, be deemed criminal, if I address, to the celebrated parent and guardian of liberty and humanity, a few words, at once manly and free.

Many



Many of the able and most enlightened heads admire the achievements of this people, considered as philosophers, politicians, and heroes. What other nation, ancient or modern, has performed the actions which it has done?

Who could even believe that practicable which it has effected? He who does not admire, must be ignorant of its deeds, or have lost the faculty of admiration. It may, therefore, be justly called the *great* nation, for it has produced the greatest, and, I will still hope, the most beneficial results ever produced by man, in any period of time! It is an universal engine, designed by God—it may say, by *Fate*—to transform things deemed untransformable.

It is not for me, nor is it within my present purpose, to touch upon the unaccountable

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touch upon

the unac-

countable

countable inconsistencies and contradictions, the horrid acts of injustice, tyranny, and cruelty, of which the French nation, or rather some of its rulers, have rendered themselves guilty, in the course of the revolution. But the rights of man, the rights of citizens, and, I may add, the rights of pastors, for my flock suffers too, compel me to say a few words on the conduct of the French nation, or of its rulers and agents, with respect to my country.

All the inhabitants of Helvetia, not deceived by juggling phrases, calculated to deceive all, can entertain but *one* opinion. The terrorist power, whose iron hand bends down their necks to the trumpet-sounds of liberty, may stifle their voice, yet they all entertain but *one* opinion—that,

B

“ The

*Inconsistency  
flatterer -  
the whole of  
any one part  
Lamb: has  
happy Revolu  
Fruit -*

“ The French nation, which waged war  
 “ for several years against the most power-  
 “ ful nations, for the professed purpose,  
 “ that no foreign power should interfere  
 “ in *its* domestic concerns, cannot derive  
 “ the least right either from preponder-  
 “ ance of power, or success in war, to  
 “ interfere in *our* domestic concerns.”

It may suit the convenience of the *great*  
 nation that we should form one indivisible  
 Republic ; the best and wisest Swiss may  
 deem this measure highly advantageous for  
 Switzerland, the idea was grand and beau-  
tiful ; but the French had no right to insist  
 on its being carried into effect ; and by  
 insisting on it in a threatening tone, and  
 with arms in their hands, they acted as  
 tyrants. Any other nation might con-  
 ceive, that it would be highly conducive to

the

under Robbery is at my Door I can view it with  
 the of my applause. So long as I speculate on the  
 the of the good to France & all other Nations to prevent  
 their sufferings & Fortunes - I have - I have



the welfare of Europe, to destroy all Republics, and to rear up Monarchies on their ruins; nay, to subject all the dominions of the globe to *one* supreme chief. Well then—*Fiat!*—I hold the power to crucify and to release.

There is a law, imprinted in the breast of man, as old as the universe, as sacred as humanity—"Do thou not unto others what thou art unwilling others should do unto thee." No power on earth can annihilate this law. Power does not constitute right. A hundred thousand armed men cannot convince the understanding, that a thing unjust is just. France had no right, but the tyrant's right of superior force, to penetrate into Helvetia, for the pretended purpose of subverting aristocracy. The subversion

*by your heavenly Instrument working  
the Good of all Mankind of the Universe  
Commanded by those who direct the Universe*

*Council  
of the  
Faculty  
admiral  
Great Cont  
Tern of the  
Religious  
Purity  
Rights  
of all above*

of aristocracy might indeed have proved highly beneficial, might have met the ardent wishes of many noble-minded Swiss; but is the highwayman, who murders my oppressor, no highwayman? Frenchmen, ye came into Switzerland as robbers, as tyrants; ye waged war against a country which never offended you. If there existed individuals who had offended you (I know not whether there were any), you should have proved the offence, and obtained redress. But without the most palpable injustice, you could not demand redress from a nation which never gave you the least offence.

From the conquered cities, especially from Berne, you carried off, as robbers, treasures which did not pertain to you. This was a robbery committed on all  
 Helvetia;

Helvetia ; on that Helvetia which you judged fit to form into one indivisible Republic, whose treasures you thought proper to consolidate into one national treasury. You robbed Helvetia of a considerable part of her strength, you *delivered* her from the means to preserve and assert her liberty.

You talked of nothing but liberty, but every one of your actions strove to enslave us. Can you deny it? All your words were orders ; all your counsels were the mandates of a despot. We were never thus commanded, when, according to your false assertion, we were slaves ; such blind, implicit obedience, was never demanded from us, as is now exercised, when, *by your assertion*, we are free.

The



*Right in  
is flattery  
the Sympathant  
false in  
among the  
freedom*

The constitution which you forced upon us, appears to me (a few solecisms, arising from the ignorance of our situation excepted) a master-piece of human wisdom, a monument of profound policy. In my opinion, nothing more sublime can be devised for civilized men. I admire this constitution, but detest the means by which its acceptance was demanded, exacted, extorted. This is unworthy of thee, great nation:—this is a gross contradiction of the principles thou hast hitherto professed. Liberty in front of every decree; and on the same page—“The general in chief commands, as follows, under such and such penalties.” Great nation, thou must thyself admit the justice of my detestation. Ten thousand of thy most loyal sons must say, and actual-

*Your Work is good but I detest you for your  
manner of perfecting it. Nothing is so childish  
as appointing his Physician is perfectly Right in  
insisting for the better of his Constitution but that  
is forward without consulting his Physic of his own  
and or allow it to be administered. please Child do*

ly say, within our hearing, "Switzerland is  
" treated in an infamous manner."

" Infamous !"—a dreadful word on the  
lips of a civilized man ; and yet it falls  
short of fully expressing the treatment  
which it is designed to express. I know  
not what should prevent me from calling  
a treatment so unlawful, so inhuman, so  
despotic, by its true name. Infamous is  
the mildest term I can find. How would  
you call it, Frenchmen, if we, being the  
stronger, and ye the weaker power, had  
treated you in this manner ? Your elo-  
quence would, no doubt, have furnished  
you with a more energetic, a more im-  
pressive, term.

Frenchmen, <sup>x</sup> great nation, matchless  
people,

*This must be Irony*

*Class his Spectator*

*Greatest*

*Matchless*

*in which we are not to be compared with no one*

people, you feel it ; for who is endowed with nicer feelings than you are ? We wretched Swiss would not have been in our present state, had our country been bold enough to speak sooner the full, round language of Truth before all Europe ; you would not have dared to treat an old ally so treacherously as you have done ; you would not have allowed yourselves so wantonly to prostitute the sacred name LIBERTY. If religion, if virtue, if justice, had not been able to restrain you : ambition would have checked your boldness.

Yet, God knows, this is not the only guilt, which presses upon the conscience of your rulers. When in open violation of the law of nations, without any formal, just declaration of war, the French troops, taking

*how. The  
past piece of  
Common Wisdom  
the Monument  
of Profound  
is a prostitute  
naive or ins  
thereafter in  
Lovers.*

*True French  
Laziness of  
Distinction  
between the  
Government  
& People Valid &c.*



taking advantage of their superiority of strength, and our discord, which, it would seem, was purposely excited by some evil-minded ruler of the French Republic, had subdued, pillaged, devastated Berne, Fribourg, and Soleure; what did the *great* nation, or rather, what did her *ungreat* agents? They advanced against our friendly canton of Zurich, and exacted the acceptance of their constitution in a violent, peremptory tone, in the language of robbers—blood or money—acceptance or war.—Silent, for the sake of peace, we accepted the constitution with unanimity; since unanimously, and without the least opposition, we had already democratized our state. Now we thought we had done every thing which could be desired; notwithstanding the arbitrary compulsion

on the part of France, we were sincere in the acceptance of the constitution, though it was suspected we were not. But transactions the most unjust, proceedings the most treacherous, soon followed the first outrage. A few days after the constitution had been proclaimed and accepted, they took the liberty of substituting in its stead, without consulting any man's opinion, without reading a line, or mentioning a syllable, to the people, *just declared sovereign and free*, another constitution, framed previously to the former, and far less adapted to our state. We enjoyed the *liberty* of being forced to submit to this absurd, arbitrary substitution, but thought that every thing had now been done on our part to convince the great, the matchless nation of our boundless forbearance.

*great Matchless. No this Praise We  
undoubtedly bring. I wish all was  
viciously so*

We were promised, at least verbally, by the agents of the *great* nation, that no French troops should enter our canton, that not a *sou* should be demanded from us. Yet the very reverse happened. They had the impudence to exact from us three millions of livres. They had the cruelty to march troops into our canton, without the least previous application, to exhaust our poor innocent country. *In other words, they forced upon us the liberty of suffering ourselves to be stripped of all rational freedom.*

All this they did under the specious pretext of subverting and punishing an aristocracy, which was no more, and which, at least among us—I say it openly, unmindful of the detractions of calumny—made no longer the least stir; besides,



who vested in France the right of punishing foreign sins—foreign virtues? The whole burthen of these three millions was at first laid on the members of the ancient government. They alone were to pay, not one of whom ever fattened upon the toils of his countrymen, nor enriched himself with the spoils of the peasant; to not one of whom ever attached the least suspicion of oligarchy and tyranny, one single case excepted, nearly extorted by imperious circumstances and ancient law-forms, atoned for long since, and from which they did not reap the least private advantage; men, who, under the ancient regimen, were subjected themselves to severe laws, and obliged to swear twice a year not to a future, but a subsisting, constitution! To judge them by the present

Democratic  
 by Noble  
 Ed. Savin  
 Chap 12

sent form, would be the climax of knavish absurdity and injustice.

Three millions!—and for what? To exact one livre, would be injustice; to exact millions, is millionfold injustice. It is the demand, not of a civilized nation, but—I know of no other appropriate expression—the demand of a band of robbers, ill organized, grown overbearing by success in war, and, in their own opinion, entitled to whatever they chuse to claim. We waged no war against that nation; in obedience to the laws of our confederacy, we sent a few troops to the frontiers, as we had done during the whole course of the war; we did, what we could not leave undone, without rendering ourselves guilty of perfidy towards our confederates. If the nation  
still

if-  
 X indeed  
 came the  
 French would  
 Invitation  
 still possesses the least sense of justice and  
 virtue, it should reverence us for what  
 we did. He, who is loyal himself, vene-  
 rates loyalty in every shape and form;  
 venerates it in a foe, and much more in  
 him, who never was a foe. But this  
 band of robbers—does it consist of seven  
 or three, of five or two? I know not;  
 but surely it does not consist of twenty-  
 five millions—this band of robbers ex-  
 acted from the unoligarchic and happily-  
 governed Zurich, which readily accepted  
 a constitution, that was deemed better  
 than its own—which paid implicit obe-  
 dience to a nation, that had no right to  
 command—three millions!!!

Excellent  
 than who  
 had no right  
 an they? they  
 who had right  
 were forced  
 of this Resister  
 against the  
 Allusion  
 Slavery Intimidation  
 to those who had no  
 Right to Command  
 Three millions, not to be paid by the  
 country at large, but—O horrid injustice!  
 —by the best, the most worthy men,  
 who



who were not known to the French, but through the atrocious reports of foul and lurking calumniators; men, who, untried and uninterrogated, were classed with oligarchic patricians. Such they never were; for who does not know, that our former governors were chosen from among all classes of citizens, and chiefly by the citizens themselves?

Three millions!! from two hundred burghers of a small town, while the two thousand six hundred burghers, of whom it consists, would not be able to raise that sum. And if, as rumour says, this sum is now to be paid by the two thousand six hundred burghers, since all are accomplices in the capital crime of being eligible for public stations, which

which crime *the great nation* is destined to avenge—if all are now to pay, is the demand more just by being thus generalized? And if it were just, the first fifth—(fellow citizens, why were you weak enough to pay a sou?)—could scarce be raised by ransacking all the plate, medals, &c.

*Great nation*, if any sense of shame and humanity remains in thy bosom, blush, and say—“ I was misguided, mis-  
 “ informed; I blush with shame—not  
 “ one sou more—all, all shall be returned  
 “ that has been extorted; ammunition,  
 “ forage, whatever has been received,  
 “ shall be readily and punctually paid  
 “ for. Europe must curse me, posterity  
 “ must condemn me. Far be it from  
 “ me to act as a band of robbers. Far  
 “ from

“ from me, the shameless hypocrisy, to  
 “ style myself the friend of Zurich, and  
 “ to be the blood-sucker of Zurich.”

And yet this is not all. He, who has wronged, will wrong more ; he, who steps beyond a certain limit of vice, stops not in the career of crimes. Sin is punished by sin, crime by crime. Great nation, Agents of the matchless people, you had the matchless impudence, relying on your superiority in arms, by vaunting menaces, to force your constitution upon the free, democratic cantons—cantons, which, centuries before France thought of democracy, were more democratic than your colossal Republic can ever be ; you prostituted yourselves, plunged yourselves so deeply in infamy, as to fall on these harmless, happy tribes of herdsmen, as

D

wolves

True.  
 & yet  
 Great &  
 Matchless



wolves on a flock of sheep, to rob them  
 of *their golden freedom*, and murderously  
 to force upon them *your liberty* in false  
 assigns. Never can you find an excuse  
 for this savage atrocity; you, who are  
 never at a loss for an ingenious turn, to  
 throw the delusive cloak of virtue around  
 the horrors of tyranny, and stamp the  
 most enormous despotism with the name  
 of freedom. Never can you find an  
 excuse for this savage atrocity, which  
 brands with perpetual infamy your revo-  
 lution—your directors, if they ordered  
 it—your generals, if they committed it  
 unordered—your nation, if it grants no  
 redress.—How will you dare to appear  
 yet among men? To lift up your eyes,  
 and open your lips, to pronounce the  
 word—*Liberty*.

The

The gallant heroes, alone, yet worthy of the name of Swifs, whom you belied to your innocent soldiers as rebels, you fancied you could swallow up, as a grain of salt. The noble Swifs—my heart bleeds yet, that we did not succour them, that we—oh ! indelible disgrace to our canton !—supplied the barbarians with cannon and ammunition against our noble brethren. The magnanimous Swifs fought as their forefathers fought, attended their cattle at the dawn of morn, and took up arms in their defence. And what defence was ever more just ? They fought as heroes ever fought, fell as loyal Swifs, and remained unconquered by the all-conquering French. Thousands fell on both sides—*as friends of liberty, the Swifs ; as assassins of liberty, the French*—What atonement to the country of these

noble heroes, and to the widows and orphans of these patriotic Swiss, can repentance, or shame, justice, or magnanimity, ever devise, for these dreadful acts of injustice? What remuneration can ever atone for these infamous deeds of wanton tyranny?

Frenchmen, weeping, I cast a veil over many unjust proceedings, over the ferocious despotism exercised by men, who call themselves your agents; over many robberies and murders, committed in our peaceful country, on harmless, defenceless men; over many, many unjust proceedings.

French nation, do not call thyself *la grande nation*.—Colossal greatness is not true greatness. Three hundred millions  
of



of Chinese would appear to you extremely ridiculous, if, contrasted with you, they should call themselves *the great nation*. Call thyself the pettiest of all nations, or submit to be called so by all nations ; great and petty, unless thou dost exhaust all thy inexhaustible resources to redress what yet may be redressed.

French nation, in all thy writings thou speakest of liberty, which protects life, honour, property, loyalty, innocence ; and this liberty alone deserves that name. The liberty to menace, to oppress, to pillage, to hurl destruction, is—the liberty of another great nation—*of the nation of devils*.—All blessings on him, who produces the former ! throughout the universe he shall not find a more intrepid defender

defender than the writer of these few lines, the author of this appeal to the great nation, and to posterity, who, God knows, of all earthly blessings, craves none so earnestly as true liberty and equality. Ten thousand curses on him, who diffuses the latter; throughout the universe he shall not find a more intrepid enemy than myself. Open thy eyes, great nation, and deliver us from this **LIBERTY OF HELL!**

To conclude: Do not, great nation, incur the contempt of all future ages; silence these crying acts of injustice, by virtuous atonements. Be not the scourge of nations, the tyrant of humanity, the oppressor of freemen, the bloodsucker of Zurich. Be, what thou wouldst appear,

( 31 )

pear, our friend, our benefactor, and deserve to rule our hearts.

J. C. LAVATER, Rector,

Zurich, the 10th of May, 1798.

First Year of Helvetic Slavery.





( 31 )

heart, our friend, our benefactor, and de-  
serve to rule our hearts.

J. C. LAVATER, Rector.

London, the 10th of May, 1798.  
This Year of Hebe's Slavery.



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